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SUSPENSE		20 April 1984			

Remarks

Again, please do the usual (intelligence only) and provide comments/no comments" to me NLT 20 April.

Executive Secretary

12 April 1984

Date

3637 (70-81)

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

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84 - 1517/1

20 April 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary, National Security Council

SUBJECT: Comments on White House Digest:
What the Sandinistas Say about Sandinismo

REFERENCE: Your Memorandum, dated 11 April 1984, Same Subject

1. Page 1, second paragraph. We would suggest you say "widely perceived abroad . . ."

2. Page 3. Concerning the quotation from Tomas Borge on the second anniversary of the revolution, you should be aware that in this speech Borge was referring to international participation in the Nicaraguan revolution rather than to Sandinista support to neighboring insurgencies. In the same speech, he did explicitly refer to moral support by Sandinistas to other revolutions. This is not to say that the quotation is not useful, but it is possible that someone may try to refute it by pointing out the meaning above.

Executive Secretary

STAT

cc: Mr. Charles Hill
Executive Secretary
Department of State

Col. John H. Stanford
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

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April 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL (P) JOHN STANFORD
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

[Redacted]
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

STAT

SUBJECT: White House Digest: What the Sandinistas Say
about Sandinismo

Attached is the first draft of a new White House Digest for informal clearance/review. We would appreciate receiving comments within ten days of receipt of this memorandum.

[Signature]
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A White House Digest

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WHAT THE SANDINISTAS SAY ABOUT SANDINISMO

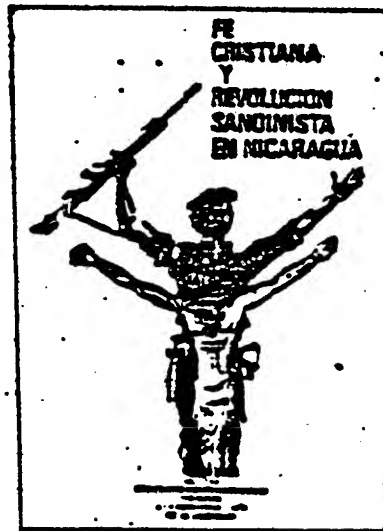
By your words are you justified,
and by your words are you condemned.
Matthew 12:37

Arnauld deBorchgrave, speaking about Cuban and Soviet disinformation efforts in the United States, had this to say about the usefulness of the Cuban example:

"The Soviet calculation has been that while Russia itself has lost most of its ideological appeal to the left in Europe and the U.S., Cuba still retained a romantic, revolutionary image."¹

The same comment can be made about the four and a half year old Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. In spite of widespread human rights violations, including the establishment of a "spy on your neighbor" system modeled on totalitarian Cuba, the Sandinistas are still widely perceived as moderate reformers "forced into" draconian measures by a hostile and overbearing U.S.

One of the most persistent myths about Sandinismo is that it is merely leftist; not Marxist and certainly not Marxist-Leninist. This myth has been challenged by any number of studies comparing Sandinista actions to those of other Marxist-Leninist states. It has also been challenged, if not completely debunked, by statements of the Sandinistas themselves. A sampling of these will make this clear.



With posters such as this, the Sandinistas try to equate revolution with redemption.

Consider this statement by Humberto Ortega, Sandinista Defense Minister:

"...Marxism-Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution, the instrument of analysis of our vanguard to understand the historical process and to create the revolution; ... without Sandinsimo we cannot be

Marxist-Leninist and Sandinismo without Marxism-Leninism cannot be revolutionary, and because of that they are indissolubly united and because of that our moral strength is Sandinismo and our doctrine is that of Marxism-Leninism."²

Hugo Torres, a member of the general staff of the Sandinista Popular Army, also extolled the role of Marxism-Leninism when he said:

"The principles of Marxism-Leninism, wisely applied to the reality of our society, guided the revolutionary actions of the FSLN, the Nicaraguan people's vanguard, to victory over the dictatorship... Lenin said that the people needed a vanguard in order to succeed and the Nicaraguan people succeeded because they had the FSLN."³

Victor Tirado, one of the nine "comandantes" in the central core of the Sandinista leadership, analyzed both the role of Marxism and the pre-planned dominance of the FSLN:

"Our brilliant leader Carlos Fonseca taught us to examine the country's economic structure to learn about the people's idiosyncrasies, psychology and feelings in order to arrive at solutions based on real facts, which is applying Marxism to our reality. This is why the FSLN outlined a government plan and prepared itself for predominant role in government ... As we all know, the efforts centered on the armed struggle, as this was the conclusion of the Marxist analysis."⁴

An unusual medium for a number of startling admissions by Sandinista leaders was an extensive interview with Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan Interior Minister and two of his colleagues in last September's Playboy. Borge told the interviewer:

"I told [my mother] that I would not be blackmailed by her gentleness and her naivete and that I was a Communist."⁵

This dedication to Marxism-Leninism has been part of Sandinismo since the inception of the FSLN. Even before taking power, and at the same time that the FSLN was trying to hide its true nature and appear as part of a broad-based coalition, the element of Marxism-Leninism was clear. A 1978 Sandinista Boletin reads:

"This Sandinista nuclear vanguard must occupy and direct the governing organs ... This nucleus must base itself in the scientific doctrine of the proletariat, in Marxism-Leninism, as a sure guide for the transformation of society."

Miguel D'Escoto, who is Foreign Minister, and Ernesto Cardenal, Minister of Culture, are both Catholic priests. Nevertheless, they both speak positively of Marxism, a philosophy which is inherently atheistic.

In a May 1980 interview, D'Escoto described Marxism as "being one of the greatest blessings on the Church."⁶ Cardenal,

a former student of Thomas Merton, said in an interview in Spain in 1978: "It may be said that the Gospel made me a Marxist. Marxism is the world's only solution."

The attempt to combine Marxism with Christianity, a frequent theme of Sandinista literature, culminated in the publication in El Nuevo Diario, a strongly pro-government daily newspaper, of the "Sandinista Creed," a parody of the Apostles' Creed. (Full text attached) It reads in part:

"I believe in the Sandinista People's Revolution and in the wise political military guidance of our national leaders of the FSLN, who are working for the well-being of the Nicaraguan masses, who were once exploited and excluded and are fighting for peace in Central America.

"I believe in the doctrine and struggles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Che, great teachers and leaders of the working class which is the productive, moving force behind the class struggle that will permanently destroy the exploitative, anti-Christian, and dehumanizing class.

"I believe in the construction of a socialist, Marxist and Leninist society. I believe in the immortality and veneration of our heroes and martyrs. I believe in the power of the people in the hands of workers and campesinos and in their existence until the end of time. Amen."

Besides seeking to deny the Marxist-Leninist nature of the regime, apologists for Sandinismo also contend that the regime is not expansionist and that its massive arms buildup since 1979 is due to U.S. pressure and hostility.

This theory not only fails to take into account the fact that the buildup began while the U.S. was sending almost \$120 million in aid but also ignores the U.S. medical teams who treated over 5,000 people in the Atlantic Coast region.

More importantly, arguing that Sandinismo is not expansionist also means arguing with the statements of the Sandinistas themselves.

Tomas Borge, on the second anniversary of the Sandinista victory, included this sentiment in a Managua speech:

"This Revolution goes beyond our borders. Our revolution was always internationalist from the moment Sandino fought in La Segovia."

Michael Kramer, writing in the September 12 edition of New York magazine, quoted two prominent Sandinistas:

Bayardo Arce: "We will never give up supporting our brothers in El Salvador."

Humberto Ortega: "Of course we are not ashamed to be helping El Salvador. We would like to help all revolutions."

As early as May 1980, again well before the U.S. government became disenchanted with the Sandinista regime, no less an authority than Foreign Minister D'Escoto said:

"You [the U.S.] may look at us as five countries, six now with Panama, but we regard ourselves as six different states of a single nation, in the process of reunification."

Even more outspoken than D'Escoto on this issue is Tomas Borge, who has said: "Costa Rica is the dessert," meaning, no doubt, that the fall of this unarmed democracy will be the culmination of D'Escoto's "reunification."

Borge told a North Korean audience in June 1980 that "the Nicaraguan revolutionaries will not be content until the imperialists have been overthrown in all parts of the world .. We stand with the forces of peace in progress, which are the Socialist countries."

More recently, the Playboy interview asked Borge to respond to the remark that since the revolution triumphed in Nicaragua, "it will be exported to El Salvador, then Guatemala, then Honduras, then Mexico?" Borge's response: "That is one historical prophecy of Ronald Reagan's that is absolutely true!"¹⁰



"EL MAS GRANDE PENSADOR VIVIENTE"

A recent Sandinista stamp celebrated Karl Marx as "The Greatest Living Thinker."

The Sandinistas promise to hold an election this year, but obviously intend to limit the choices available to the Nicaraguan people.

As early as 1981 Humberto Ortega made the comment: "Keep firmly in your minds that these elections are to consolidate revolutionary power, not to place it at stake."¹¹ He reiterated this view in 1983 when he said that the Nicaraguan people had already had their election in the revolution and had chosen the FSLN.

~~_____~~, a member of the three man coordinating junta, had this to say about elections:

"The Nicaraguan people will have to choose and vote for one candidate. That candidate is the revolution. This is very important." He later added: "It is a question of which parties have the most responsible programs and who can really guarantee the people they will go ahead with the revolutionary process."¹²

In spite of the best efforts of the Marxist-Leninist leadership to convince North Americans that theirs is a moderate, non-Communist and non-threatening revolution, their own words show clearly what their beliefs are and what their aims are. Skeptics do not have to listen to the critics of Sandinismo; they have only to listen to its leaders.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech to the Outreach Working Group on Wednesday 7 March 1983.
2. Speech to the Sandinista military, quoted by Branko Lazitch in Est et Ouest (Paris) 25 August, 1981
3. Managua Domestic Service 23 April, 1982. (Foreign Broadcast Information Service, hereinafter FBIS, 28 April, 1982 p. P9)
4. Managua Radio Sandino 26 February, 1983 (FBIS 28 February, 1983 p. P17)
5. Playboy September, 1983 p. 60
6. "Nicaragua and the World," Christianity and Crisis 12 May, 1980 p. 141
7. Dionisio Herrera y Canales, El Nuevo Diario 7 January, 1983 (The article appeared on the editorial page) (Emphasis added)
8. "Nicaragua and the World," op. cit.
9. Huber Matos, "Borge's Hunger for a Costa Rican 'Dessert'," Wall Street Journal 2 December 1983.
10. Playboy, op. cit. p. 192
11. Henri Weber, Nicaragua: the Sandinist Revolution, (London, U.K.: Verso Editions, 1981) p. 118
12. Managua Domestic Service, 14 January, 1984 (FBIS 16 January, 1984 p. P20-21)

THE SANDINISTA CREED

I believe in Sandino, the Father of our people's anti-imperialist revolution, who was born of a proletarian campesino mother and descended from the line of Dirianguen, Estrada, Castro, and Zeledon. He was a proletarian with a strong conscience, self-educated, a patriot and a nationalist, anti-imperialist, and internationalist warrior, like David who slew Goliath.

I believe in Sandino, the organizer of the E.D.S.N., made up of workers and campesinos, who fought in the mountains, valleys, towns and cities against the traitors who sold their country and against the gringo imperial legions in the defense of our native soil, our sovereignty, and our national honor.

He was betrayed and assassinated by a Judas, the stepson of Uncle Sam, who repaid him with years of military dictatorship and dollars. His murderers and the desecrators of his corpse were granted amnesty through the complicity of a Liberal-Conservative Congress.

I believe in Carlos Fonseca, his beloved Son, who inherited his ideals and guerrilla warfare tactics, who was the Founder of the FSLN, our political military vanguard, who is placed upon the altar of his country beside his revolutionary Father, whose ideology he enriched with new revolutionary philosophies, proletarian in nature, which he transmitted to his closest comrades-in-arms.

I believe in the Sandinista People's Revolution and in the wise political-military guidance of our national leaders of the FSLN, who are working for the well-being of the Nicaraguan masses, who were once exploited and excluded and are fighting for peace in Central America.

I believe in the doctrines and struggles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Che, great teachers and leaders of the working class which is the productive and moving force behind the class struggle that will permanently destroy the exploitative, anti-Christian, and dehumanizing class.

I believe in the construction of a socialist, Marxist and Leninist society. I believe in the immortality and veneration of our heroes and martyrs. I believe in the power of the people in the hands of the workers and campesinos and in their existence until the end of time. Amen.